

THE
FARMER'S CASE ✓
OF THE
ROMAN CATHOLICS
OF
IRELAND.

In a Course of LETTERS from a Member of the
Protestant Church in that Kingdom, to his
Friend in ENGLAND.

WHEREIN

The POPERY-LAWS are considered, and Arguments
drawn to shew how far they are prejudicial to the PRO-
TESTANT INTEREST in particular, as well as that of the
NATION in general, and that the REASONS and MOTIVES,
which gave Rise to those Laws, no longer subsist.

LETTER IV.

DUBLIN:

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T H E
F A R M E R's
C A S E, &c.

DEAR SIR,

I LEFT you, in my last, on the fearful Edge and Expectation of Battle ; and, there you must remain, for some Time longer ; as the Ship, in question, is still chased but not yet overtaken. Her Enemy, indeed, has had the Impudence to dispatch a small Frigate after her, but, this she sent to the Bottom at the first or second Broadside.

Her Friends, however, are of Opinion that it is her Business, by all Means, to avoid coming to a close Engagement with her Pursuers. Had her Crew been united by a common Connection of Interest, she would have been equal to an Encounter with any Vessel on the Ocean ; and, it is certain that

her Enemies, in adventuring an Assault, depend more upon the Dissentions of those who should defend her, than on any Sufficiency of their own Force, for so daring an Enterprize.

In the mean Time, her Circumstances are extremely critical. Scarce a Fourth of her Crew is entrusted with Arms; and three Fourths of that Fourth, must be occupied in watching over their suspected Inmates, while the Management of the Ship, and the Burthen of the Fight, must, of necessity, be confided to the small Remainder. Infomuch that the Sixteenth Man, alone, is left to defend the total Amount of the Rights and Properties of the whole Company.

We cannot positively say, though it is fearful to conjecture, what the Issue of an Engagement would prove, under such Disadvantages. The Probability of Success wholly favours the Pursuers; and, should they happen to make Prize of this same Vessel, the late Conquerors would then become the most wretched of all Captives. And their late Captives, in all likelihood, would gain nothing further than the Satisfaction of seeing their Conquerors involved, with themselves, in the same calamitous State of Slavery and Oppression.

Sir,—By this Time, I imagine that you have searched all the Pacquets for the Account which I have given of these same Ships; as you lately searched the Maps, &c. for my *East-India* Islands. Or, if you have happened not to take me in the

Literat

Literal Sense, you may think my Meaning so enveloped, in the Clouds of Allegory, and Allusion, as to discourage all Inquiry about the Matter. But, Sir, I could quote you a thousand Authorities, and give you ten thousand Reasons for the Propriety as well as Prudence of this Manner of writing, on certain Occasions.

There is a Dignity as well as Modesty in some Subjects, that declines Entrance 'till preceded by an Officer of Ceremonies ; and this decent Backwardness gives a double Lustre, and Grace, and Attention to their Approach. I may further observe that Truth is like Light, if it is poured in a Flood upon you, it rather blinds and disgusts, than delights or illuminates ; but, if you are permitted to let it in at your own Pleasure ; if you are put to the Task of clearing a Passage, or opening a Shutter for its Admission, you then co-operate and have the Satisfaction to reflect that you, in some Measure, become a Partaker of its Merits. I have known People who would reject all Kinds of intellectual Treasures, if they are denied the Pleasure of searching for them by the Light of their own Candle. And, in some Cases, it is a Matter of very necessary Discretion to introduce Fact in the Garb of Fable, that the Discovery may appear rather the Act of the Reader than the Confession of the Writer. *in secret*

However, Sir, for your private Satisfaction, and more particularly, as I am sensible, that you
never

never were fond of unnecessary Trouble, or a Reliſher of the Sensations that ſome Men feel, in the Solution of Knots, the Decyphering of Hieroglyphics, and Inveſtigation of *Ænigmas*; I will give you a ſhort Clue, or Thread of my Story, which ſhall guide you at once through the Length of this Labyrinth.

Ships are familiar Emblems for Countries or Commonwealths. By the firſt of my two great Ships I intend the Country of *Ireland*, and by the ſecond, the Country of *Holland*. The two conquered Crews repreſent the Popiſh Proprietors to whoſe Government thoſe two Countries were once ſubjected; and the Conquerors, on both Parts, repreſent the Proteſtants, who took the Government into their own Hands, and aſſociated with the Papiſts, tho' on very different Terms. The Veſſel, that keeps our *Iriſh* Ship in Chace, repreſents *France*, who conſiders us as an eaſy Prey, on Account of our Diviſions. And the captive Orator, on this Occaſion, expreſſes the general Senſe of the Roman Catholics of *Ireland* with much more Truth and Freedom, than they themſelves chooſe, or think it ſafe to avow.

He, very plainly and honeſtly tells, to the Purpoſe, that, as *Papiſts* have not the ſame *Inter-eſt* with *Proteſtants*, in the Proſperity or Preſervation of this Kingdom, they cannot be ſuppoſed to have the ſame *Inclinations*. That People naturally wiſh, and deſire to promote their own Inter-eſt, and cannot be ſuppoſed to be irreconcilably averſe to a
Change,

Change, from which they have Something to hope but have Nothing to fear. That Roman-Catholics, in being deprived of the necessary Incitements to *Industry* and Valour, are rendered useless in Time of Peace, and unconcerned in Times of War. That the Measures, which Protestants have taken, to impoverish and weaken their Popish-Brethren, have tended, in effect, to abridge their own Property and to weaken their own Power. That the Law of *Interest*, in Politicks, like the Law of *Cohæfion*, in Matter, is both necessary and effectual to unite People, of jarring Opinions, in a mutual Tendency, to Purposes of important and common Concern. That this same Law, of political Cohæfion, is the Cement that, alone, hath been found efficient for forming or continuing Society upon Earth. That the same *Interest*, which serves for the *Retention* of Friends, hath ever, and equally, served for the *Reconciliation* of Enemies. That a contrary Policy and Conduct, in *Irish* Protestants, hath divided their Popish Countrymen both from, and against, themselves. That a Division and clashing of Interests in States, as in private Families, hath always proved detrimental, and often, destructive to both Parties. That, as *Union*, *Agreement*, *Motives to Industry*, and *Products of Labour*, make the *Strength* and the *Wealth* of all Communities on Earth; *Division*, *Animosity*, the *Relaxation of Hands*, and *Diminution of Products*, are, equally attended by National *Weakness* and *Poverty*. That the present Inability and Indigence of *Ireland*, are the necessary Consequences of the said unhappy Causes. That the Reverse of the said unhappy Measures

Measures must produce a happy Train of corresponding Events. That Roman-Catholics, though discountenanced and discouraged by Law, have, yet, behaved themselves with surprizing Ameanableness to Government; and that the Obligations of Favour could not fail to beget additional Attachments of Fealty and Affection. That Protestants might derive great *Wealth* to themselves, by affording Papists the necessary Motives to *Industry*; and might, further, derive great *Strength* to the Nation, by affording them the necessary Motives to *Valour*. And, lastly, that those, who have demeaned themselves as Friends, while considered as Enemies, could not possibly be induced to demean themselves as Enemies, while treated, and attached, and interested as Friends.

But, the natural Consequences, of such a Reverse of Measures will more clearly appear, from the View and Consideration of the People of *Holland* who are represented by the Captors of the second Vessel.

I HAVE already accounted for One of the Ships that was said to have been made Prize of, at the Beginning of this Narrative, and I shall now proceed to give you the History of the Other.

The Conquerors and the Conquered had scarce got together, in the same Ship, when a Chief rose up, from among the first, and addressed the Captives in the following Terms.

“ FELLOW-

“FELLOW-CREATURES, and, Fellow-Christians!
 “we were lately your Enemies; we are your
 “Enemies no longer, for we no longer fear you.”

“Reason bids Us to disarm you, while your
 “Passions are warm against us; when Resent-
 “ment gives place to Affection, we will restore
 “you to your Weapons, they will then become
 “the Instruments of our own Strength and Pro-
 “tection.”

“We will not ungenerously wait, till Hardships
 “or long Services shall compell you to sue to us
 “for Mitigation, or Reward. We first sue to
 “you for your Alliance and Friendship, and we
 “invite you to a Participation of all the Benefits
 “we enjoy.”

“We know that your Prejudices are powerful
 “against us. But, you are Men, you have Sen-
 “timents, you have Feelings, and Affections; and,
 “as no civil or religious Principles can wholly
 “suppress the Resentment of Evil; neither can
 “they prevent a grateful Sense of good Offices.

“Had we judged you incapable of Friendship
 “and Attachment to us, we would set you adrift,
 “or drop you on Shore; we would not adven-
 “ture with you on the same Bottom; for, well
 “we know that one Enemy, within Doors or with-
 “in Decks, is more to be dreaded than Five,
 “without.

“If you are willing to engage with us in one
 “common League and Connection of Interest,

“ we shall become as so many Threads twisted
 “ together, in our great Cable ; and no Tempest
 “ shall be able to tear this Vessel from our Hold.
 “ If you will not unite with us, let us part, far
 “ asunder ; our mutual Enmity will, else, prove
 “ our mutual Weakness and Destruction.

“ Here are Instruments and Implements for all
 “ Crafts and Occupations. Let the Skilful fall
 “ to Work, and let the Ignorant take Instruction ;
 “ the Product and the Purchase of Art and
 “ Industry shall be sacred and secure to the Pro-
 “ prietors thereof.

“ Here, also, are many Lockers, where each
 “ of you may deposit, in full Confidence and
 “ safety, his present Fund and future Earnings.
 “ We will, further, allot to you a moderate Di-
 “ vidend in the Property of this Vessel ; and
 “ every Share which, hereafter, you may be ena-
 “ bled to purchase, with the Product of your La-
 “ bour, your Commerce, or your Valour, shall
 “ be inviolable to you and to your Heirs and
 “ Assigns.”

“ Think not that we shall grudge or repine at
 “ your Acquisitions. On the contrary, we shall
 “ rejoice at every fresh Accession of your Wealth
 “ or Property. It will prove a fresh Assurance of
 “ your Faith and Attachment ; and your Defence
 “ of what is your Own will, at the same Time,
 “ prove the Defence of the whole Community.

“ We are told, that, by some very extraordina-
 “ ry Principles of your Religion, you deem your-
 selves

“ selves at Liberty to make and break, at pleasure,
 “ the most solemn Engagements with People of a
 “ different Sect. In the present Case however, we
 “ will put Religion out of the Question, and
 “ trust to Nature, Reason, and common Sense.

“ But, can any Principles teach Men to do Evil
 “ for Good, and Acts of Hatred for Acts of Af-
 “ fection? to return Treachery for Confidence,
 “ and Failure for Dependence? to machinate
 “ Destruction to the Instruments of their own Pro-
 “ perity? And to invert and overturn the palpable
 “ and eternal Order and Propriety of Things,
 “ against Duty, natural Feelings, social Welfare,
 “ and Self-Interest? We cannot think this possible.
 “ Were the Devil so great a Knave as to imbibe
 “ such Principles, he is not so great a Fool as to
 “ put them in Practice.

“ Wherefore, we will not hesitate to depend on
 “ your Gratitude for Benefactions; and on the
 “ Sense that you must have of your own Advan-
 “ tages, which cannot arise, save from your good
 “ Demeanor.

“ Let us, then, resolve to part, at once; or to
 “ unite and cling, inseparably, together. There
 “ is no Medium, no Measures to be taken between
 “ these two Extremes, that will not be attended
 “ with unspeakable Damage, perhaps with De-
 “ struction, to both Parties.

“ Look round the World. Inspect the Fate of
 “ Nations, or the Misfortunes of private Families;
 “ and you will find that all their Calamities, their

“ Wretchedness, and their Ruin, have proceeded
 “ from Divisions and Diffentions, alone.

“ The *Weal* of any Society, whether great or
 “ small, is as a *Machine* that requires a Number
 “ of Hands to set it, or keep it, in Motion. If
 “ all unite and agree to conduct it in the same
 “ Path, and direct it to the same Purpose; the
 “ good Intention thereof will be accomplished
 “ without Delay or Obstruction. But, if some
 “ cast Lets and Obstacles in the Passage; if others
 “ are industrious in fastening Cloggs to the Wheels;
 “ if some pull one Way, and some drag another;
 “ the whole must stand still, or, perhaps, be rent
 “ in sunder.

“ When Animosities and Antipathies possess
 “ the Mind, it is more active in the Operation of
 “ Evil towards its Adversary, than of Good toward
 “ itself. Nay, it will refuse to act for its own
 “ Advantage, if the Object detested is to be a
 “ Partaker. Thus, the smallest Degree of *Damage*
 “ that is effected by *Division*, in Families or
 “ States, is *Indolence* or a mutual Cessation from
 “ such Offices as might conduce to the Benefit
 “ of the Party opposed; and every greater de-
 “ gree of mutual Animosity is a further Advance
 “ toward mutual Perdition.

“ Fear not, then, that we shall contribute to
 “ our own Detriment or Danger, by affording
 “ you any just Cause of Complaint. Fear not
 “ that we shall, stupidly, prove the Executioners
 “ of our own *Weal*, by retarding, or discouraging
 “ you

“ you in any Act or Instance, that may conduce
 “ to the public Stock, or give us a larger Assu-
 “ rance of your Fealty and Attachment, by en-
 “ larging your Stake or Property in our common
 “ Vessel.”

“ By giving you Proofs of our Wishes and
 “ friendly Endeavours for your Prosperity, we,
 “ naturally, propose to excite, in your Bosoms,
 “ the same kindly Sentiments, with respect to
 “ ourselves. Such mutual Benevolence will, na-
 “ turally, flow into Acts of mutual Beneficence.
 “ Industry and Genius will, thereby, be roused
 “ and promoted on all Sides. The Products
 “ thereof will be a daily Accession of Property and
 “ Opulence. Our Interest will, then, endear and
 “ attach us, in common, to the Defence of that
 “ Vessel where our Treasures are deposited.
 “ From the Sameness of our Attachment, a Uni-
 “ ty of Sentiment and Action must result. And
 “ this Unity of Action will complicate a Force in-
 “ vincible and irresistible by any other Power.”

“ I may most justly affirm that there is not
 “ any Vessel, that now navigates the Voyage of
 “ this transitory World, which contains a Com-
 “ pany associated by a more generous, or happy
 “ Disposition, than ours. Here are no insolent
 “ Masters, no wilful Laws, no bloody Tribunals,
 “ Glory delights to cherish and recompense Merit ;
 “ and Justice weeps over the Stripes she is com-
 “ pelled to inflict. The mightiest and the mean-
 “ est, among us, are equally restrained from In-
 “ jury, or Mischief ; while all are equally free to
 Acts

“ Acts of public Love, or private Beneficence.
 “ And you will find, from a joyous Experience,
 “ that even Poverty, with us, is preferable to
 “ Opulence, in any other Ship.”

“ With respect to Religion. Sailors, as you
 “ know, do very little Credit, to any Principles,
 “ by their Practice. Our Religion, indeed, ap-
 “ pears adapted to enlighten and exalt Angels,
 “ rather than Men. We, however, catch some-
 “ what of its Virtue and Purity, and warm our-
 “ selves at its distant Ray. Native Honour is
 “ thereby ennobled, Generosity is thereby expand-
 “ ed; it kindles Love, it melts Cruelty into
 “ Compassion; it improves all that’s Good, it
 “ exalts all that is Great within us; and it checks
 “ *and lessens those Evils which it cannot eradicate.*”

“ We know that no Man living, is master of
 “ his own Faith; he cannot compel himself to
 “ believe, even, conformable to his own Interest
 “ or Wishes, much less can he be compelled by
 “ any external Force. Mental Faculties are sub-
 “ ject to mental Powers alone; material Instru-
 “ ments may, more easily, lay hold upon Air;
 “ Opinion and Prejudice cannot be influenced, or
 “ convinced, or reformed, but by Reason.”

“ We will not, therefore, attempt to *invite*, or
 “ *constrain* you to *Spiritual* Conformity, either by
 “ *temporal Pleasures*, or *temporal Pains*. Such
 “ Inducements, indeed, might prove a Test of
 “ your *Hypocrisy*, they could not possibly prove the
 Test

“ Test of your *Persuasion*. We will open unto
 “ you the Gates of Truth ; but we will not tempt
 “ you to enter, by any Invitation, save that of
 “ Truth alone. For, we have no Rewards in
 “ Store for Spiritual Prostitution ; nor Punish-
 “ ments for the retainers of Conscience and In-
 “ tegrity. No Road can be right to the Wretch
 “ who takes it against Conviction. And Heaven
 “ will find a Home for him who errs in his
 “ Honesty.

“ Come, then, and partake of the Freedom,
 “ the Power, and Prosperity that we enjoy. We
 “ open our Arms and Hearts for your Reception.
 “ We invite you to give Wealth and Strength
 “ to yourselves, by giving to our State, the Assist-
 “ ance of your Industry and Defence of your
 “ Valour, we shall treat you in a Manner that will
 “ not permit us to fear your Fealty. For, the
 “ World shall not persuade us that you will quit
 “ certain Establishments for precarious Expectati-
 “ ons ; exchange present Possessions for Prospects to
 “ come ; or depart from a settled Tenure of Free-
 “ dom and Happiness, ’till you find that you can
 “ be freer or happier elsewhere.

Here ended this humane Orator, and it is not
 reasonable to suppose that the Captives could long
 hesitate about the Acceptance of such gracious
 and beneficent Terms. They instantly embraced
 them with grateful Transport. They became one
 People. No Jealousy could remain where there
 was no invidious Distinction. Every Hand was
 actuated

actuated and directed, as by one and the same Mind to one and the same Purpose: Each was eager to promote the Wealth, Security, and Renown of the whole Crew ; as, thereby, they promoted their own Fame and Fortunes. And, in a short Time, this Vessel became the most opulent and formidable of all the Ships on the Ocean.

I have now given you the History of the two Crews of the *Dutch* and *Irish* Vessels. Their Conduct, as you perceive, was extremely different ; is it then to be wondered that their Cases should differ also ?

We find the one *divided, weak, and indigent*. We find the other *united, powerful, and wealthy*. From whence then, arises this difference of Condition ; is it from Chance, or a Difference of Policy ? Or, can it be supposed that the same Causes, which effected the Prosperity of the one Crew, should effect the Calamities of the Other ? Both Crews, as you see, associated with Enemies ; but the one took Measures to keep Enmity alive, and the other took Measures to turn Enmity into Friendship.

Roman-Catholics in *Holland*, have every Incitement to Industry and Valour, that Policy can bestow, and are equally interested, with Protestants in the Prosperity of the State. Roman-Catholics, in *Ireland*, are distrusted, discouraged, prohibited from Purchasing, and, thereby, detached from a due Concern in the Preservation of this Kingdom.

Will

Will the Papists of *Holland*, then, be more ready to rise in Rebellion, or to wish, or attempt any Damage to their Country, because they are interested in the Welfare and Safety thereof? Or, will the Papists of *Ireland* bear greater Faith and Fealty, because they are distrusted; or be the more industrious because they are discouraged; or wish the Preservation of this Country the more warmly, because they have no Stake or Interest therein? What have we not to fear from them, while we withhold the natural Motive of their Service and Affection? What would we not have to hope from the Gratitude of their Hearts, and the Assistance of their Hands, should we give them Cause to wish and to contribute to our Welfare?

No Person has a Right to expect that another will befriend or endeavour to promote an Interest, from which he is himself alienated and excluded. Motives are as necessary to the Actions of Men, as Springs to the Action of Watches or Weights to Clock-machinery. Where an Impulse wholly lends to the Benefit of a sensible Agent, his Action has all the Force of which it is capable. Some Degree of Tendency to the Benefit of a sensible Agent, is necessary to every Degree of his Action. Where no Advantage can be proposed by Action, Indolence must take place. And even the most benevolent and generous Dispositions will find themselves averse to act in favour of those who desire to preclude them from a Participation in the Benefit of their own Labours.

As the Good of Society is the only rational End and Intent of all Laws, where any Law is found on Experience, to be useless, its very Insignificance to a wise Legislature, will be held a sufficient Cause for a Repeal. If it proves to be severe, as well as useless, Humanity will be an additional Motive for annulling it. But, if Laws are found, at once, to be useless and severe, and even detrimental to that very Society, for whose Emolument alone, they were framed and enacted; Wisdom, Humanity, and Necessity join together to urge for an Abolition thereof.

Were Protestants enriched, and strengthened, and exalted, in proportion, as Papists are impoverished, debilitated, and depressed. Did we derive any Wealth from their yearly Exportations of the current Cash of this Kingdom. Did we derive any Safety from their Discontent and Disaffection. Did we gain any Power by their being divided from us while they are continued among us. Were our National Products encreased by their Want of Motives to Industry. Were our Bogs and Wastes better reclaimed by their Aversion to Labour. Were our Coasts the better secured from foreign Invasion, because three Parts in four of the Inhabitants of *Ireland* are no way concerned in the Defence thereof. Were our internal Dangers lessened, by giving ourselves Cause to be jealous of such Numbers. Could we hope to gain their Friendship by the public Acts and Expressions of our own Distrust. Or, could we expect that their having different Interests and Affections could engage

gage them to wish our Welfare or to promote our Prosperity. I would be the first Man in *Ireland* to remonstrate and petition against the smallest Abatement of the Popery Laws.

But, as a seventy-Years Experience hath proved, and continues to prove, that the Reverse of all such happy Consequences, is permanently and palpably and perniciously the Fact. I would humbly propose. That, for the Promotion and Establishment of the Protestant Interest in this Kingdom; for stopping the perpetual Drain of the Specie or political Blood of the Nation; for deriving Strength to ourselves from the Good-will and Assistance of a numerous People, with whom we are, unavoidably, though discontentedly associated; for acquiring immediate and inconceivable Opulence to the State from the animated Industry of three Fourths of our Inhabitants; for doubling the yearly and natural Value of *Ireland*, by giving Papists an Interest in the Reclaiming of our Lands; for giving them Cause to oppose our common Enemies by giving them a common Stake for Defence and Retention; for giving them Cause to contribute to our Prosperity by admitting them to a legal Participation thereof; it is humbly proposed, I say, that our Patriot Legislature, so studious in other respects for the Advancement of their Country, should make such an Abatement or Alteration of the said disabling Laws, as, to their better Wisdom and Discernment, shall appear requisite, for lessening the many Evils that are, thereby, created;
and

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Henry Brooke

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171- and for restoring the many Benefits that are, there-
by, suppressed.

Since they have not proved beneficial, why
should they be continued? Since they are found
detrimental, why should they not be repealed.

I am, Sir, &c.

A-C⁴

A-C

A-C⁴

A-B⁴

A-C²

F I N I S.

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